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pelled to pick and choose one's authorities. And the conservative is not the less eclectic for selecting views out of harmony with modern modes of thought. Fortunately for Jews and Judaism the liberal Jew can always find some traditional view or other with which to connect his own trend of ideas, while the religion of the Prophets furnishes him with the main substance of his faith. In matters of religion, not to be one of the multitude, to belong to a small minority, nay, even to stand alone is, after all, no ground for reproach, seeing that religions have generally been made by individuals, and only marred by the multitude.

On the purely philosophic side, Dr. Lévy's book is in some ways open to criticism. The marked pragmatic standpoint, the tendency towards subjective idealism, the transcendental application of the category of causality in the cosmological argument, the Cartesian use of the conception of "eminent cause," the description of Spinoza's "Substance" as a mere "abstraction"—all these are questionable. Nevertheless, the book may well be recommended to the attention of all who are interested in Judaism and its future.

Our author is well aware, painfully aware, of the present sorry plight of religion in general and of Judaism in particular. But he has faith in his religion. And his faith suffers neither from that longsightedness which overlooks the immediate present, nor from that shortsightedness which cannot penetrate into the future. He sees the present gloom, and has visions of the coming dawn. "Israël," he writes, "qui jadis a niché parmi les aigles semble avoir désappris les routes du ciel. Il serait temps qu'il sortît d'un sommeil qui, s'il devait se prolonger, s'achèverait dans la mort. Il serait temps qu'agité à nouveau du frémissement prophétique il secouât de ses ailes la poussière des siècles, et que, reprenant son essor vers les espaces de pure clarté, il rapportât aux hommes le message de lumière et de salut."

A. WOLF.

THE ANNALS OF ISLAM.

Annali dell' Islām compilati da Leone Caetani, Principe de Teano, vol. II, dall' anno 7 al 12. With maps and photogravures, fol., 1567 pp. Milan, Hoepli, 1907.¹

THE second instalment of Prince Teano's work now lies before me in two magnificent tomes, comprising the events of the years 7 to

¹ As to vol. I see this Journal, July, 1905.

12 H. The annals begin with the expedition of the Moslim forces against Kheibar, the last refuge of the Jews in Northern Arabia. The author is undoubtedly right in saying that the reasons given for this attack by Moslim traditionists are worthless, as Mohammed's real motive was a purely political one, an additional motive being the opportunity which it gave of employing a number of followers unskilled in work but eager for spoil.

The author's statement that the number of Jewish warriors given in Moslim sources is greatly exaggerated is also correct. The whole expedition was probably a small affair, similar to the earlier raids against the Jewish tribes around Medina. The danger for Islām was the existence of Jews in its centre, but not their number. The expedition against Kheibar was a distinct breach of faith, as two years previously Mohammed had given the Jews of Kheibar and Maqnā a charter of liberty which has fortunately been preserved¹, and traces of which are also to be found in the works of Al Wāqidi and Al Belāḍori. Prince Teano, who does not seem to know of the existence of the original, gives a translation of the document from the version of Ibn Sa'd, who dates it A. 9 H. The real date, however, is A. 5, i. e. three years before the conquest of Mecca, when Mohammed's worldly power was by no means assured. Ibn Sa'd's version is interesting not only on account of what it inserts, but on account of what it omits. It is not difficult to see that a sentence like *e l'Inviato di Dio (rasūl Allāh) vi perdona le vostre malvagie azioni e tutte le vostre colpe* cannot have had a place in a document issued at so early an epoch. Also the imposition of a tax of one-fourth of the harvest of the palm-groves and the sea was at that period out of the question, whilst on the other hand, Ibn Sa'd's attestation of the remission of the *jizya* (poll-tax) which Prince Teano justly considers strange, is literally to be found in the original document.

In Prince Teano's gigantic work special interest attaches to those chapters in which the author summarizes his sources and gives the reader his own deductions. In these are comprised his review of the last five years of Mohammed's life. It is difficult to understand why the author should state that Mohammed was born in the desert and grew up away from any centre of culture. Mohammed was born in Mecca. Tradition has it that he was reared in the desert, but should this even be historical, it only relates to his early childhood. At all events he appears to have lived during his teens in his native town which was far from being devoid of culture. The picture which Prince Teano gives of his character is, however, true to life. His craftiness as a politician is beyond doubt, only I do not believe that

¹ See this Journal, Jan. 1903.

it developed with his growing worldly power, but that it manifested itself in the earliest stages of his ministry. The story underlying the revelation of Surā 80 is evidence of a shrewd policy. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to show¹ that even his first public utterance was as nicely calculated as that of any public orator. One cannot but agree with Prince Teano's ingenious theory of Mohammed's secret machinations with the Qoreish after the defeat at Uḥud, one of the consequences of which was the half-hearted, and therefore unsuccessful, siege of Medina. Was the conquest of Mecca anything but a magnificent piece of bluff? The Qoreish were simply tricked out of the possession of their capital, which was taken without bloodshed.

Less convincing I consider the author's reasonings (p. 466) concerning Mohammed's belief that he was inspired by a being higher than the jinn in which his countrymen believed. No one denies his enthusiasm, without which he would not have achieved anything, but this is identical with inspiration. But was he conscious of it? If Mohammed at the beginning of his career considered himself inspired at all, it was by Allāh direct. His real strength lay, in my opinion, in his higher intelligence, supported by positive knowledge. This knowledge was just extensive enough to convince him of the fallacy of the old idolatry and the supremacy of monotheism, and he had the strength of character to express this conviction in words. Without giving any reason for so doing, Prince Teano omits the factor of his superior knowledge in his otherwise admirable discourse on this subject.

The scanty space allotted to this review only allows me to touch upon a few out of the mass of highly interesting topics in the book. Among these is the chapter which deals with the compilation of the Qorān in connexion with the first stages of Arab writing. Both topics belong to the most obscure in the history of Arabic literature. This question is closely connected with another, viz. whether Mohammed was able to write. Prince Teano is right in stating that although Mohammed's knowledge of Judaism and Christianity was probably gained by oral communications, it in no way proves that he was illiterate. He himself inclines towards the belief that Mohammed *could* write, but that he endeavoured to hide this fact. The question is not, however, so idle an one as the author assumes, as the circumstance that he possessed secret, although clumsily written notes, assists us in explaining several important, but obscure words in the Qorān. The very word *sūra* (סורה) owes its existence, as I believe, to a misreading of *sidra* (סדרה). Besides this, we are not at all sure whether there did not exist among the Jews of the Ḥijāz Arabic

¹ *Researches*, p. 21 sqq.

translations of the more popular portions of the Old Testament. Some evidence of this might be gathered from the Qorān itself. The art of writing was without any doubt practised among the Jews. Several traditions show that the use of the square alphabet had also spread among Arabs, a fact which is not astonishing, considering its close resemblance to the Nabataean letters. The history of Arabic writing has lately assumed a different character, but the latest researches were probably not yet available when Prince Teano wrote this chapter of his book. One can no longer ascribe to the so-called "Cufic" writing the place it has hitherto occupied. The close relation of the "Naskhi," which existed as early as the first century of the Hijra, to the Nabataean-Hebrew square is quite unmistakable. The question is whether this "Naskhi" was known prior to Islām, but this does not seem to have been the case.

There is another great chapter in the book which touches upon one of the most interesting questions in Semitic study, viz. the original home of the Semitic race. The author treats on it in an extensive survey of the general aspect of Moslim conquests. After reviewing the most important opinions on the matter he decides in favour of Arabia, a view already held by Sprenger and Schrader. In order, however, to remove the difficulties of this view, Prince Teano advances a new theory. He maintains that the climate in Arabia was colder in prehistoric times, and that it gradually changed into the hot one at present characteristic of the country, and that this fact disposes of the opinion that the nature of the Arabian soil prevented the development of a large population.

This brief sketch of the book scarcely gives an idea of its comprehensiveness and originality. It forms the most important source of the history of early Islām for general historians, whilst the Arabist himself finds ample material for enlarging and modifying his knowledge, and stimulating further study. The book is anything but dry reading, and is illustrated by beautiful maps, photogravures, and facsimiles of ancient Arabic writing. It fully deserves the place which it aspires to occupy.

H. HIRSCHFELD.